1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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463 possess tea and coffee estates of their own. The rising
197 generation are, to some extent, learning Tamil and English, in addition to their own language, which is said to resemble old Canarese. And I have heard a youthful Badaga, tending a flock of sheep, address an errant
•871 member thereof in very fluent Billingsgate. There were,
[867] in 1904–1905, thirty-nine Badaga schools, which were attended by 1,222 pupils. In 1907, one Badaga had passed the Matriculation of the Madras University, and was a clerk in the Sub-judge's Court at Ootacamund.

182 A newspaper discussion was carried on a few years ago as to the condition of the Badagas, and whether they are a down-trodden tribe, bankrupt and impoverished to such a degree that it is only a short time before something must be done to ameliorate their condition, and save them from extermination by inducing them to
(166) emigrate to the Wynād and Vizagapatam. A few have, in recent years, migrated to the Anaimalai hills, to work on the planters' estates, which have been opened up there. One writer stated that "the tiled houses, costing from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, certainly point to their pros-
426 perity. They may frequently borrow from the Labbai to enable them to build, but, as I do not know of a single case in which the Labbai has ever seized the house and sold it, I believe this debt is soon discharged.
241 The walled-in, terraced fields immediately around their villages, on which they grow their barley and other grains requiring rich cultivation, are well worked, and
527 regularly manured. The coats, good thick blankets, and gold ear-rings, which most Badagas now possess, can only, I think, point to their prosperity, while their constant feasts, and disinclination to work on Sundays, show that the loss of a few days' pay does not affect
181 them. On the other hand, a former Native official on

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 177 241 gave Badagas superior seed grains from Europe, as well as seeds of various European vegetables.[2] This increased grain production somewhat and started Badagas growing vegetables they were not accustomed to eating. And as the British population increased so did the demand for locally grown European vegetables: a handful of Badaga farmers, being able to supply them, were thus drawn further into the market economy.

175 177 •871 One area in which the British tried to effect early changes without success was formal education. In 1820 or 1821 Sullivan founded a school at the Wodea village of De:na:ḍu, directly above Dannaika Ko:te, but the enterprise (prompted no doubt by a need for local clerks) was apparently a failure (Ward, 1821, lxx; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 1!3). In 1830 Sullivan founded another school at Ku:kalu, also in the northeast of the plateau, to teach Badaga boys the Tamil and Kannada languages. Another was probably founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1830 at Dimbaṭṭi (Moses, 1964, 11). Among the few youths who acquired some education there was an attitude that is still voiced today and portended changes in the occupation pattern: they considered themselves fitted by schooling for a lifetime of something better than manual labour (Harkness 1832, 69–70). Another school, the first to use English as a medium, was established by a former judge, George J. Casamajor, at Ke:ti in 1845. This became the local headquarters of the Basel Mission in the same year, and a school has been there more or less constantly ever since. (In 1901 it became the first Badaga high school [Francis, 1908, 332; Moses, 1964, 13].) In Casamajor's time parents had to be paid one anna a day before they would send their sons to the school. It was only in the latter half of the century, after the Mission was well established at Ke:ti and elsewhere and several more schools had been founded, that education became at all popular with Badagas. For this achievement German pertinacity should take some credit; but after 1856 Badagas began to realize that literacy in Tamil was the only sure road to jobs in the local bureaucracy and so started to value schooling (Grigg, 1880, 423).

175 177 464 In the early days of European settlement the British frequently needed day-labourers to do jobs in the developing Nilgiri towns. A large number of lowland immigrants now lived and worked in these towns, but Badagas were also occasionally hired by Englishmen and paid a daily rate in cash. Around 1827, however, it had been observed that

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control on quality and could bring together sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worthwhile. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing cash crops, middlemen appeared not only to buy up small quantities of tea, coffee and potato but also to sell seed, fertilizer and even some insurance.

After Independence profiteering by the middlemen was largely checked by the Nilgiri Cooperative Marketing Society set up with state government aid (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249). Today there are nearly two hundred cooperative societies in the Nilgiris which pool the resources of members and also supply cheap fertilizer. Many such societies own local tea-processing factories and warehouses and are dominated by Badagas. After 1957 heavy loss through potato disease caused a widespread shift to tea or coffee growing,[22] and in the 1970s large acreages have been devoted to growing a sturdy new German variety of cabbage which finds markets nation-wide. Both tea and cabbage are quite successful crops. The availability of help from the Central Cooperative Bank made these unexpected switches in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would have rendered the new venture unfeasible. Several cottage industries have also helped diversify the rural economy over the past thirty years; in particular beekeeping, liquor distilling, milk sales, knitting and embroidery have provided new, regular sources of income for many hundreds of Badaga families.

The early twentieth century saw the rise not only of wealthy Badaga land-owners but also of large-scale labour contractors. A few men profitted by getting the contracts for gangs to dig pits for planting tea-cuttings, pick coffee-beans, build roads or construct public buildings in the district.[23] Less wealthy Badagas set themselves up as small shopkeepers, tailors or money-lenders or found work in a wide variety of urban trades.[24] Whenever possible the more resourceful reinvested their profits in land (Ranga, 1934, 10), either tea and coffee estates or farm plots formerly belonging to Kotas (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240). The other reinvestment commonly made was in college education for their sons. With the economy fully monetized the stress was now on providing stability for the coming generations.

MODERN EMPLOYMENT

Prior to World War I virtually all Badagas were cultivators, and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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463 the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the 592 year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (462) (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1821, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202: Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for (883) all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in (857) the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day. (887) People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

463 This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few (178) were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began (464) working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs • (871) many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

476 A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds (478) of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

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195 many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

797 1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:ṭe:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Suḷḷigu:ḍu. Some smallpox prevalent.

797 1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

(164) 1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

164 1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an
276 important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were
656 addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for
164 baptism but died before this could occur. Government
797 prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.
656

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this
797 year until 1887 government continuously planting further
654 tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in
797 Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased
(731) hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kaṉakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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nicknamed 'three-quarters God', lost face through declining an invitation to prove the superiority of his religion by walking across the fire.[4]

As another missionary recalled:

> The proclamation of the Gospel, which was repeated again and again in every village with scarcely any exception, met with an increasing opposition, till at last it became a great trial of faith and patience to go on preaching to the same well known and apparently hopeless generation. From the proverbially timid Badaga we even heard expressions like these:—'You have ruined our country, why do you come to us?—stay at home!' (Mörike, 1858, 96).

Apparently the missionaries capitalized on the misfortunes that struck at the Badaga community: on one occasion of drought (in 1859), the missionaries blamed the disaster on the continuing worship of idols; on another occasion Metz reported:

> The famine may have helped to awaken in many a fear of the wrath of God.... Especially one day, after four Badagas had been burned in one house... people were eager to hear the Word and ask questions about it, so that it was quite refreshing to me (B.E.M.S., 1866, no. 27, 78–79).

In 1855 missionaries prompted the government to issue a ban on Badaga fire-walking. The move back-fired, however, for a village had burnt down at about the same time, and this was considered a manifestation of the Badaga deity's wrath (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39).

The mission schools were another important means of evangelizing. A school had been founded at Ke:ti in 1845, and by 1859 nine others were in operation. At first Badaga parents in the neighbouring villages were given one anna a day (½ cent U.S.) as inducement to send their unconverted children there rather than have them work in the fields. The schools were intended to create a favourable impression among the Hindus, but the missionaries recorded that the frequent changes of schoolmasters, their indifference to teaching, their loose morals and the periodic closure of the schools led to a halting literacy but scarcely any conversions.[5] A permanent

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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day-school was established by the mission in 1871, yet the drawbacks remained.[6] No industrial training was given at these institutions. Only in the 1880s did the Badagas begin to appreciate the merit of schooling: the number of schools on the Nilgiri Plateau 'was only 3 in 1879, but 21 in 1889, and 36 in 1889'.[7]

Natural Calamities

A third class of stress-producing factors in the experience of nineteenth-century Badagas was one of natural disasters, sometimes drought, sometimes epidemics, sometimes earthquake, sometimes famine. Badagas were not slow to attribute these calamities to the mission.[8]

Yet on a few occasions the disasters were so intense that they prompted hundreds of people to turn to the German missionaries for sustenance. In 1877 especially the general famine and crop failure led to a steep rise in food prices in the Nilgiris and to a heavy immigration of indigents from the plains. Beggars came to Ke:ti in hundreds, and the missionaries had to restrict their alms-giving to the old and the sick. The mission established some relief-work for Christians and distributed rice to their congregation; and this clearly prompted many, especially the relatives of previous converts and people familiar with the Gospel, to forsake Hinduism. 'Their idols, some said, had been of no use to them in this calamity, they would now follow the God of the Christians.'[9] The missionaries were glad to enlarge their flock, but by the end of the century some of them became more realistic about the motives prompting Badagas to convert. Thus a Badaga pastor, Jacob Kanaka, noticed that 'The larger number of the famine-converts came from the village Tandanadu, the abode of a heart-hardened people and the seat of idol-worship in this district.'[10]

Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that the Badagas came to the mission more often for temporal than for spiritual aid. In the 1870s mission staff felt many were willing to convert, yet seemed 'more concerned about their debts of money than those of sin; they promise to embrace Christianity if their debts will be paid by the Mission' (B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1850, no. 10, 23; 1897, no. 58, 53–54). The missionary was commonly sought out in times of sickness when herbal therapy failed. Food was often begged from the mission people too. Thus, for example, a hungry Hindu

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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the society as unfit for interaction. If the population of the undivided Badaga community in 1871 was just under twenty thousand, then there has scarcely been any growth in *scale* when we consider that today this would still be about the order of people with whom a Badaga could potentially interact *within* one of the several factions which divide the current community of over a hundred thousand (cf. Appendix 2, p. 249).

Health Improvements and Economic Growth

The hazards of famine and epidemic disease which confronted Badagas in the nineteenth century have posed less of a problem in the twentieth. The young generation has never known starvation. Standards of health have much improved and public health facilities, especially mass inoculations, have decimated the earlier scourges. Even the modern practice of piping water into the villages has caused a vast improvement in health (Grigg, 1880, 185, n. 2; Hockings, 1979b, 10–15).

The development of a mixed cash-crop farming economy and slight industrialization from the time of the First World War have been crucial factors in the improvement of Badaga living conditions. While there are still many families that are landless or very poor, the opportunities for earning cash are so much wider than they were a century ago that general famine is not a severe or recurrent threat any more.

Education, too, has broadened the Badagas' view of society and is now very popular with them. As early as 1887 it was noted that they had themselves built six schools out of village funds.[20]

The community thus managed to overcome the social and economic difficulties which, if not ameliorated, have often triggered some kind of revitalization movement.[21] There was no successful revitalization among the Badagas even though several small and localized cults showed some potential. Instead the people were able to survive their period of frustration, accept the existence of a separate Christian community and shift from subsistence to a cash-crop economy that allowed them to improve their standard of living significantly even though the ratio of people to farm-land was rapidly increasing. Thus we can say that while the society is in no sense static today it has managed to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalied fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1882, 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:ḍu in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

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12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

16. *kāṭi*, or in one dialect *kari*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Maṇihaṭṭi priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Taṅga:ḍu priests remained in the outer precincts. The Taṅga:ḍu Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Maṇihaṭṭi people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Taṅga:ḍu. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Maṇihaṭṭi had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Maṇihaṭṭi, Taṅga:ḍu and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

[p. 212 is blank]

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20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[2] early in this century it was about Rs. 100;[3] in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

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Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently—typically once a week—and their children can attend high school or even college without losing much contact with the home. (Ootacamund has two colleges and Coonoor another, all three affiliated with Madras University.) Literacy and newspapers in Tamil have spread, too, in part because of the easy transportation system. The literacy rate is now seemingly higher in the rural Nilgiri Plateau than in Madras City: in 1963, 78% of adult Badaga males and 52% of females were literate, while in 1961 70% of Madras City males and 48% of females were literate.[12] Even old Badagas are often quite familiar with daily news stories, weather forecasts and even some political predictions (cf. Hockings, 1965 a, *passim*).

The cheap railway and bus services have made visits to the great pilgrimage centres of South India possible for thousands: the famous temples at Cape Comorin, Madurai, Palni, Tirupati and Tanjore now receive Badagas almost daily. Nor must we overlook the business trip: increasingly farmers as well as traders find it worth visiting cities when they have a harvest to sell or bulk supplies to purchase.

The modern cities and great pilgrimage centres can have two different types of psychological effect: a city shows the Badaga visitor profusions of consumer goods, among them new household devices, radios, watches, bicycles and cameras, as well as interesting foods, cloths and ornaments; the pilgrimage centre, on the other hand, stresses ties with the mythical past of South India, with the gods represented in the temples, with priestly authority and with the grand history of the temples themselves. It is an important distinction: the man who goes to a distant temple may come home with his attention focussed on the past and on separation of the self from worldly matters, whereas the man coming from a business trip may be full of a desire to buy some implement he has seen or try out a new skill or save money so that his son may attend college in the city.[13] This distinction between the conservative and the modernizing effects of travel is to some extent paralleled in the choice between mythical and modern film themes or between religious and secular magazines. Not all contact with the cities necessarily introduces people to modern ways of life; not all who patronize radio, films or periodicals are drinking at a source of non-traditional knowledge, for though the media may be modern the villager discriminates in what he derives from them.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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128 Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

844 751 (*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

852 553 [766] (*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

852 302 [304] (*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

852 304 (*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

852 (*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

[871] [777] (*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

852 304 [797] (*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

[178] 304 (*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821:
241 lxx, lxxiii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
883 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
857 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
462 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(871) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
(550) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

177 Until the end of the last century Badagas sedulously avoided the British
178 legal system and its officers. The traditional Badaga system, which we described
earlier (pp. 29-43), continued to operate effectively. In the following chapter we
121 shall describe the social change which came about during the present century when
Badagas were obliged to adapt their legal system so as to make use of the official
Indian one too.

657 Local government under the British was in practice confined for the most
(631) part to the municipalities. Some police stations were established in rural areas,
(625) and local roads were constructed; but in general there was little attempt to im-
prove the lot of the Badagas. In a few villages the presence of free mission
(871) schools from 1857 onward nevertheless did much to raise the standard of educa-
tion (cf. Grigg 1880: 423-26).

After Independence, on the other hand, the Indian government began to pay a great deal of attention to developing the rural sector of the country. The Nilgiris was not selected for inclusion in the areas subjected to intensive community development in the early 1950's, but local panchayat offices were set up in the administrative "villages" of the Nilgiris, and began the dissemination of information and the improvement of basic services. The Badagas were classified as a "Backward Class" and received special help in these matters from the Harijan
(312) Welfare Department. Today most villages, as a result of these efforts, have a
(491) fairly hygienic supply of running tap-water, a track connecting them with the main
(365) roads, and an electricity supply. Many villages have started their own coopera-
(474) tive society, through which they get loans and agricultural supplies against the security of their lands or houses.

177 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the recent

S82 days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys
S83 normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whe-
(178) ther of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

178 The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of
S54 the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy par-
S65 venus who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy?
S56 As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects -- the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was ins-
454 tituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations , or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is some-
(S54) times invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can
S54 bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain deg-
•871 rees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but
(S56) those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but afterwards expect the graduates to settle down in their home villages again and

554 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably
•871 elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea
581 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known
583 to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of
(178) dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the
(177) prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises
(871) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a
582 cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband.
584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(454) status and agricultural success.
(554)

The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with
(178) the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

174 224 from Ketti took the shredded remnant of a hunting net and two spears to a point upon the mountainside behind Ketti. While two men held up the net remnant, two with spears charged at it. Then all sat in a circle and sang folk songs before returning the equipment to the Hirodaya temple. Using these examples, it seems likely that the Badagas once hunted with nets and spears. Now they use muzzle-loaders, shotguns, and rifles. Although a few go hunting, most guns are employed in the protection of crops from such animals as black-naped hares (Lepus nigricollis F. Cuv.), pigs, and porcupines. 411 (224) (241)

Other occupations. From the time Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiris, outside employment became available. Both poor and wealthier Badagas took advantage of ever-increasing job opportunities. By 1829 many poorer Badagas were performing all types of labor (Hough 1829: 96). In 1860 a few were working on coffee plantations, but by 1868 many males were working as artisans or laborers on European-owned plantations (Markham 1862: 376; Shortt 1868: 58). There were Badaga clerks, cordite factory workers, building and road contractors, forest guards, gardeners, and school teachers by 1909, and before 1934 wage earning became the main means of livelihood for many Badagas (Thurston 1909, 1: 63; Ranga 1934: 11). Badagas are presently employed in the Government of India Cordite Factory, the Needle Industries (India) Ltd., and the Hindustan Photo Films Manufacturing Company in the Nilgiris. Some Badagas have a high school education, and a few are university graduates. As a result, there are Badaga clerks and professionals employed in private industries, or in positions with the 175 177 464 463 (871)